1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides and its limitation within conventional bounds. 585 602

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγχαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [154] bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [277] prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [135] contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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S G 648 S 662 G 647 554 [558] of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (βλάχος), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

S G 648 571 G 693 554 Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

S G 648 656 S 641 Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsan community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

G 647 661 However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power. A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) (964) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(254) (286) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(654) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

/403 cont./

region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tsóligatos were thus made to disappear.

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tsóligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tsóligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tsóligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S /406 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the
[361] community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

177 d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
891 Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 G all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
656 leased sites.
423